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SUBJ: TURKISH MEDIA ANALYSIS

- 1. DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS THE TURKISH PRESS HAS BEGUN TO ACKNOLWEDGE THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION ON CYPRUS NO LONGER SUPPORTS TURKISH OBJECTIVES ON THE ISLAND.
- 2. INITIAL SOVIET SUPPORT FOR ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AND SHARP CRITICISM OF THE COUP AGAINST HIM WERE WELCOMED ENTHUSIASTICALLY HERE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS. HOWEVER, PRESENT SOVIET INSISTENCE ON A RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE IS SEEN AS CONFLICTING WITH TURKISH DESIRES FOR A FEDERAL STATE BASED ON SHARP GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS.
- 3. THESE DIVERGENCES ARE NOW BEING NOTED, ALBEIT IN RELATIVELY MUTED FASHION, EVEN IN THE LEFT-WING PRESS. THUS, YASAR AYSEV, WRITING IN THE AUGUST 9 EDITION OF MODERATE SOCIALIST BARIS, WARNED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE A GRAVE MISTAKE IF THEY FAVORED GREECE AT THE GENEVA MEETINGS, AS RUMORED. THE SOVIETS SHOULD ENLIGHTEN THE TURKISH PUBLIC ON THIS SUBJECT, AYSEV SAID, IF THEY DO NOT WANT THE SYMPATHY THEY GAINED HERE TO TURN TO ANTIPATHY.
- 4. IN ANOTHER ANALYSIS, ERDOGAN ALTAN, IN THE AUGUST 8 EDITION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF GUNAYDIN ASSERTS THAT TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE SOVIETS,

KARMANLIS WILL HAVE TO DEFEND THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS. IN-DEPENDENCE, ASSERTED ALTAN, IS ACUTALLY ANOTHER SORT OF ENOSIS: THE GREEKS WILL BE INDEPENDENT AND THE TURKS WILL BE CRUSHED.

- 5. HURRIYET, TURKEY'S LARGEST DAILY, DECLARED IN AN EDITORIAL AUGUST 7 THAT THE USSR FAVORS AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS UNDER THE CONTROL OF A LEFTIST ADMINISTRATION; WHEREAS THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT OPPOSE A FEDERAL SYSTEM FOR THE ISLAND. WITH THIS IN MIND, SAID HURRIYET, IT BECOMES OBVIOUS ON WHOM WE CAN DEPEND, WITH WHOM WE CAN ESTABLISH A DIALOG.
- 6. PERHAPS CURRENT MISGIVINGS IN THE LEFT-WING OF THE TURKISH PRESS CONCERNING SOVIET CYPRUS POLICY WERE MOST CLEARLY EXPRESSED BY AHMET ESMER IN THE AUGUST 5 EDITON OF BARIS. ESMER, OFTEN A VEHEMENT CRITIC OF U.S. POLICY, DECLARED THAT WHAT THE SOVIETS WANT IS TO RETURN MAKARIOS TO CYPRUS. "TURKEY LANDED ON THE ISLAND TO PROTECT THE TURKS THERE, NOT TO BRING MAKARIOS BACK," HE WROTE. "IT IS NOT POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT KNOW THIS FACT".
- 7. NOT SURPRISINGLY, REACTION IN THE RIGHT-WING TURKISH PRESS TO THE SOVIT POSITION ON CYPRUS HAS BEEN EVEN STRONGER. THUS, AHMET KABAKLI, WRITING AUGUST 12 IN CONSERVATIVE TERCUMAN, DECLARED:..... "WHAT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE SOVIETS IN THEIR IMPERIALISTIC AIMS IS TO PREVENT ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOUND ORDER IN THIS LARGE ISLAND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN..... RUSSIA, UNDER THE GUISE OF AN 'INDEPENDENT CYPRUS' WANTS A MEDITERRANEAN CUBA...."
- 8. IN CONTRAST TO THIS, SOME TURKISH LEFT-WING COMMENTATORS APPEAR TO HAVE SOFTENED SOMEWHAT THEIR HARSH VIEW OF THE U.S. POSITION ON CYPRUS. IN THIS VEIN, AYSEV, WRITING IN BARIS, AUGUST 12 DECLARED:
- 9. "THE FAMOUS JOHNSON LETTER HAS EFFECTED TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS SO BADLY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES PERCEIVED THAT A SECOND ATTEMPT TO PREVENT TURKEY FROM ACTION WOULD RESULT IN COMPLETE LOSS OF TURKEY'S FRIENDSHIP. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA, MACOMBER, HAD AN IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE ROLE IN THIS PERCEPTION.....

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- 10. THIS RELATIVELY CRITICAL MEDIA REACTION TO THE PRESENT SOVIET POSITION ON CYPRUS IS COMBINED WITH A DEFINITELY WARMER VIEW OF THE U.S. ROLE IN THE CRISIS. PRIMIN ECEVIT'S CONTINUING PRAISE OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIONS HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE IMPROVED U.S. IMAGE.
- 11. GIVEN THE VOLATILITY OF THE TURKISH PRESS, IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THIS SHIFT TO HAVE ANY PERMANENCE. AT

THE FIRST SIGN OF A U.S. POSTURE WHICH THE TURKS PERCEIVE AS NOT
SERVING TURKISH INTERESTS, THE PRESS WILL BE ON US AGAIN.
MACOMBER

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